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same people, or possibly a subsib, since I have in my lists an unidentified *Kowétarabawũ* on the Querarí.

Yániwa A sib at the mouth of the Querarí. Nimuendajú also noted them on the Querarí as *Dyaniwa*.

Yohóhübewũ A sib on the lower Querarí.

UNIDENTIFIED SIBS

Batóua Koch-Grünberg found them at the mouth of the Cubiú *igarapé*, a tributary of the Vaupés, and called them a small "horde" that had come from the Querarí. I did not hear of them. Nor are they mentioned by Nimuendajú.

Ilhéadowa A group mentioned by Koch-Grünberg and later by Nimuendajú, but not on my lists. Nimuendajú says they were once Macú and placed them on the Cuduiarí, which he did not explore, but which Koch-Grünberg and I did. Koch-Grünberg did not locate them on the Cuduiarí, but recorded a visit of some from Puranga *paraná* on the Vaupés to the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí.

Kéua A Cubeo group whom Koch-Grünberg encountered on the upper Aiarí. They lived in a maloca at Yurupari *cachoeira*. The Siusi called them *Maulieni*. They were, said Koch-Grünberg, originally Arawakans from the Querarí and then became Cubeo-speaking. Since moving to the Aiarí near the Siusi they have returned to the use of Arawakan. They are closely related to the *Djurémawa*, but they are not in my lists.

THE *BORÓWA*

The *Borówa*, who are more generally known as Macú, were once servants or menials of various sibs of the Cubeo. This is no longer the case since, as many Cubeo informants said, the *Borówa* came to be too troublesome and they were allowed to leave. There was fear of *Borówa* sorcery and that was another reason for sending them away. The Cubeo say that the *Borówa* had come to them voluntarily and offered to work for them in return for food, shelter, and protection against enemies. Individual household heads took in individual *Borówa* or a man and wife pair. The *Borówa* did all the everyday work. They fished, their women worked in the manioc garden, they fetched water and firewood. They lived in the house with the Cubeo and were to all intents and purposes members of the household. They even made their own chichá. The Cubeo claim they did not intermarry with *Borówa*, although this statement is belied by a sib tradition that the *Bahúkiwa* were once given *Borówa* wives. The view is that it was improper to marry such lowly people. One man not very long ago had eight *Borówa* men and women attached to his household.

Once the practice of keeping *Borówa* had become established, they

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were bought and sold in exchange for ceremonial objects, such as wooden dancing staffs. I was told that a *Borówa* was worth one *behórũ* (a ceremonial staff). Since the *Borówa* were nomadic and had no strong attachments to any particular place they did not mind moving from one place to another. It would seem that far from being slaves there was a symbiotic relationship between these very crude nonfarming people, who had no settlements or permanent houses of their own, and the Cubeo. The Cubeo do not stress the economic advantages to them of the *Borówa* other than to point out that they helped with all chores. In any case, no Cubeo was released from any of his normal tasks because of the presence of the *Borówa*. The *Borówa* were skilled basketmakers and it was in this economic field that they were most important. Nor was social status too important an issue in maintaining *Borówa*. They were valued mainly because they increased the household. The fact is, the *Borówa* consumed a good deal of manioc produce in the form of chicha. They were notoriously heavy drinkers and when drunk were very quarrelsome.

The question of relationship of the *Borówa* to the Cubeo is still not clear. There is an origin tradition that says that the *Borówa* were the last to emerge from Uaracapurí and for this reason they were held to be the servants of the others. However, this account may simply reflect the Cubeo tendency to relate all people with whom they have close and persistent connections to their origin myths. If the *Borówa* came from Uaracapurí that would be reason also for the ban against intermarriage with those groups that had settled among the Cubeo. As against the tradition that would make the *Borówa* a lowest-ranking Cubeo sib is the information that they spoke a different language and only adopted the language of their households. Along these lines is also the comment that the *Borówa* were a people "without shame," because among them brother and sister (presumably parallel cousins) were permitted to marry. There is still another explanation given by the Cubeo of *Borówa* status and that is that they had been conquered. The *Borówa* are said to live at the mouth of the Querarí but I had no opportunity to visit them.

The *Borówa* have been house servants or field slaves to most, if not all, the Arawakan and Tucanoan tribes in the region. My own information on Macú "slaves" is entirely hearsay, since, as far as I could learn, all the Cubeo sibs on the Cuduiarí had already given up keeping *Borówa*. In 1905 Koch-Grünberg observed Macú "slaves" among the Tucano of Pary *cachoeira*. In this community there were three men who "belonged" to the chief. They lived in a hut of their own in the woods, together with their wives and children. Every